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ABSTRACT

Dealing with the interrelationship of the book to other forms of mass communication in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR), this report focuses on the sociological issues involved and the responses of the public to the various channels of communication. Sections of the report deal with the following topics: (1) the building of the mass communications system in the USSR and its present condition, (2) the future of the book in the USSR, (3) research of the mass communications system, (4) research methods and management, (5) theoretical premises of the research, (6) the place of books and mass media in the leisure time budgets of citizens of the USSR, (7) functional features of mass media and books, and (8) the prestige of books. (FL)

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Studies on Books and Reading No. 10

BOOKS AND THE MASS MEDIA: MODES OF INTERACTION IN THE USSR

by V. D. Stelmakh

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BOOKS AND THE MASS MEDIA: MODES OF INTERACTION IN THE U.S.S.R.

by V. D. Stelmakh

1982

P R E F A C E

This document is one of a series prepared as background material for the World Congress on Books to be held in London, United Kingdom, from 7 to 11 June 1982. It deals with the interrelationship of the book to other forms of mass communication in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, focussing on the sociological issues involved and on the responses of the public to the various channels of communication.

The author, Valerija Stelmakh, is Chief of the Sector for Books and Reading of the Lenin State Library. She has prepared this study on the request of the Commission of the USSR for Unesco and the USSR Committee on Publishing, Printing and the Book Trade, and has provided both the Russian and English texts. The author is responsible for the choice and the presentation of the facts contained in this document, and for the opinions expressed therein, which are not necessarily those of Unesco and do not commit the Organization.

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I N T R O D U C T I O N

Ten years have passed since International Book Year (1972) was declared at the Unesco General Conference which marked the beginning of a period of intensified research and comprehension of the role of books in society. A member of studies contributed to the elucidation of such points as "What position does the book hold in the contemporary world in which new and, one would think more effective media of information have appeared? What position does the book hold in a world, where a tireless and incessant struggle with illiteracy is carried on, in a world, where knowledge ages overnight and mountains of printed material accumulate never to be read? Has the role of the book remained unchanged?"(19)- The endeavors of scholars who try to answer these questions consolidate the position of the book in the fields of education, international understanding and peaceful cooperation, in promoting peace, humanism and progress.

The interrelationship between the book and the mass media is one of the most vital issues in the field and Unesco has to a large degree stimulated the effective planning of research and the working out of a sound policy in the mass communications area (50,53,54,58,60).

Scientific and technological progress has appreciably broadened our opportunities for access to culture and the dissemination of knowledge. This gives rise to new problems and today we are no longer interested in the extent to which a certain predominating channel is used; actually we are now concerned with such aspects as the conscious individual choice of the preferred mode of informative cultural differentiation, culture itself is becoming a multilevel system.

The interrelationship of the book with radio, TV and film can be discussed from different points of view. For example, the analysis of technical features of circulation and dissemination of information through each channel is feasible. The psychophysiological study of perception of the printed text, radio or TV information, etc., is also of great importance.

The present document is based on research that was carried out by the Lenin State Library of the USSR. It is concerned mainly with the sociological aspect of the problem, i.e., the socio-cultural features of the mass media audience and the attitudes to different channels of communication were studied. In our view this approach helps to fathom the dialectical nature of books and mass media interaction; one flow of the

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- The numbers in brackets refer to the list of references in the Bibliography

book production process joins the mass media system, while the other functions according to different models.

The research was actually based on this thesis. The present study represents a subsequent stage in regular research and development coordination in the field of sociology of literature and reading carried out by the Lenin State Library under the guidance of the USSR Ministry of Culture and the USSR State Committee for Publishing, Printing and the Book Trade. Already in the mid-sixties we have worked out a multi-level project. "Books and reading in the Soviet village" (11); "The place of fiction in Russian in the reading of the multinational Soviet population", "The reading habits of the Soviet worker". While undertaking these inquiries we have analysed such items as the intensity and content of reading of the main social group of the population, motives of choice and criteria of assessment of books, perception of reading matter, the place of reading in the mass media system and the structure of leisure time, preferred sources of book provision, and the social role of libraries in the organization of mass reading. Information on the dynamics of readers' demand, the most widely-read literary works and changes in the sphere of reading interests (the survey entitled "Dynamics of reading and readers' demand in public libraries") is being gathered and analysed on a regular basis.

The elaboration of the theoretical model of reading, of interrelationships of books with other mass media and their place in contemporary culture implies systematic analysis of Soviet and foreign studies, which promotes better understanding of methodological problems and object fields. The bibliographical and analytical/synthetical publications of the Information Centre on Culture and Arts (Informkultura), functioning within the framework of the Lenin State Library, is an integral part of regular activity in this field. This Centre is the head specialized agency of the State Information System.

We have currently prepared a bibliography of foreign studies on the sociology of literature entitled "The book, reading, the library". It includes 1.850 publications from 25 countries mostly issued in the last 30 years in 15 European languages. Continuing the bibliographical activity launched by an American sociologist H. Duncan (15) and a sociologist A. Silbermann (62) from the Federal Republic of Germany, this publication not only provides the model of present research themes dealing with books and reading, but also defines the trends of further research; in addition, it shows how thoroughly certain subject fields have been worked out.

The project "Books and mass media: modes of interaction" includes the theoretical elaboration of the problem, secondary analysis of information yielded by previous studies, the gathering and summing up of new empiric data on the functioning of the book

and other communication channels in different social milieux. In keeping with the problem complexes of research this project covers the following major issues:

- building of the mass communications system in the USSR, and its present condition;
- future of the book: concepts and forecasts;
- methods and management of research;
- theoretical premises of research;
- the portion of book and mass media in the budget of leisure time;
- functional features of mass media and books;
- significance of the book.

I. BUILDING OF THE MASS COMMUNICATIONS SYSTEM IN THE USSR AND ITS PRESENT CONDITION

In the USSR the mass communications system has become a very important social and cultural phenomenon; it is now impossible to imagine the country's cultural and social life without mass media. The press, radio and TV put social information within the reach of the population at large and perform the mission of transmitting scientific knowledge, world cultural treasures, artistic values, etc.

The General Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU, the Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, Leonid Brezhnev pointed out that "the mass media can carry the truth that the future of the people is inseparably bound up with a firm and reliable peace and with affirmation of the ideal of equal rights, social progress and liberty" (1).

In the USSR, the mass media represent one of the most important means of solving social and intellectual problems, which appear in the course of social development. The successive solution of these problems is possible owing to the purposeful cultural policy of the state, which unites and integrates the activities of different mass media.

As it is stated in the decisions of the 26th Congress of the CPSU, in the eleventh five-year-plan period considerable efforts will be directed towards the further development of TV, radio and publishing with the aim of meeting the intellectual demands of Soviet people. (18)

In the USSR all components of the mass communications system regardless of their specific capacities and organizational autonomy, are tightly interwoven and that is why an isolated and one-sided development of any single medium is out of the question. Criteria of management of mass media and the building of an integral mass communications system have been formulated in a number of resolutions of the Central Committee of the CPSU and decisions of governmental bodies. As a result the present interaction between the different mass media is now taking on some of the features of mutual organic interrelationship which is characterized by joint coverage of issues of social life, consistency and continuity in the broadcasting and comment. After the defining of the different functions of each communication channel the book has turned out to be one of the major media of mass communication. The relationship between the media are based on the principle of mutual complementarity with due regard for the specific nature of each communication channel.

The mass communications system of the USSR was built up as follows. Its first element was the press. It should be mentioned here that though book printing in Russia originated in 1564 and the first Russian printed newspaper was put out in 1702, the mass press began to form only in the middle of the 19th century. In 1913 859 newspapers, with a single run of 2.7 million copies, were being published. After the Great October Socialist Revolution (1917) the newspaper became an important channel of dissemination of information.

The table below shows the dynamics of newspaper production. (21,24)

	1928	1937	1950	1960	1970	1980
Numer of newspapers (titles)	1197	8521	7831	9544	8694	8088
Single runs (mill. of copies)	9.4	36.2	36.0	68.6	140.7	176.2
Annual circulation (mill. of copies)	2000	7092	6998	15009	31176	40012

Chronologically, the radio became the second component of the mass communications system. The first Russian radio stations were set up at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century, but they were intended for the dissemination of only official information. From the first years of the Soviet State the radio served not only as a technological means but a social communication medium as well. In 1922 V.I. Lenin formulated the

basic points of the programme for the full radiofication of the country and regular broadcasting began in 1924. The number of radio sets grew as follows: (in millions): in 1928 - 0.07; 1940 - 1.12; 1950 - 3.6; 1960 - 27.8; 1970 - 48.6; 1975 - 59.8; 1979 - 66.2 (21,22).

The radio network now covers the entire territory of the Soviet Union. Broadcasting of the 8 main programmes is conducted in 68 languages of the peoples of the USSR and 76 foreign languages; three-programme wire transmission has been arranged in 400 cities; stereophonic transmission is becoming more and more widespread.

TV came as the third (and last) component of the mass communications system, with regular TV broadcasting beginning in 1931. The number of TV sets grew as follows: in 1940 - 0.4 thous.; 1950 - 15 thous.; 1960 - 4.8 mill.; 1970 - 34.8 mill.; 1975 - 55.2 mill.; 1979 - 64.3 mill. (21)

These data show that a sharp acceleration of the tempo of TV development has taken place in the last decades. While in the mid-fifties TV broadcasts could be watched only by the dwellers of Moscow and Leningrad, today a TV centre with 131 programmes, 380 powerful and other TV retransmitters are operating. It should be stressed here that such a qualitative change in the situation has made the problem of interaction of the book with the mass communications system particularly pressing, the correlation of reading and TV watching acquiring particular importance.

Publishing and reading of books are also widely spread in the USSR. In a sense the book can be said to be a micromodel of culture as a whole: achievements of nearly all its aspects have found reproduction in the book; it accumulates the entire centuries-old experience of mankind appearing as its social memory. That is why the level of cultural development of a given society can be judged by the scale of book production and the extent to which reading has spread in it. In 1913, 30.079 titles of books with a total circulation of 99.2 mill. copies were published, in later years the output of books increased as follows (21,24):

	1927	1940	1960	1980
Number of titles (thous.)	33.4	45.8	76.1	80.7
Total circulation (mill.)	226	462.2	1239.6	1760.5

In different periods the functions of the book underwent modifications and changes. In the first years following the Great October Socialist Revolution the wiping out of illiteracy became the basic problem and it was then that the image of the book as a source of knowledge was established. In the period of industrialization and collectivization of agriculture the question was already not the simple functional mastery of reading skills but the attracting of the population to the regular use of books, the professional education of the broad sections of the public.

Today the practical significance of the book has been retained and even gained greater importance under conditions of scientific and technological progress. Besides this the intellectual prestige of the book has immeasurably grown, the same being true of its status as a symbol of culture and its model. The book is a repository of intellectual values, a means of education and an active participant in social/economic and moral progress.

The following table illustrates the dynamics of book production in a number of basic subject fields. (The total circulation is given in millions of copies). (24)

	1940	1950	1960	1970	1980
Political and socio-economic literature	127.3	215.2	159.6	207.3	220
Natural science literature	5.5	25.1	28.6	42.6	50.9
Technological literature	35.2	83.5	230.6	145.8	160.7
Fiction, including children's literature	46.6	178.9	385.9	416.5	769.1
- in Russian	30.8	136.5	242.6	286.8	536.4
- in languages of other peoples of the USSR	10.7	25.8	64.0	90.2	124.6
- in foreign languages	5.1	16.6	79.4	39.5	108.1

In the USSR in 1979, 80,500 titles were published, (70) as books and booklets in 60 languages of the peoples of the USSR and 54 foreign languages. Translations from 102 languages of the peoples of the USSR and 48 foreign languages are included. (24)

The USSR belongs to the countries with the largest book output. The Unesco Statistical Yearbook gives these indicators of the book output in different regions of the world for 1978 according to the number of titles per 1 million inhabitants (69):

In the world (on the whole) - 151

Africa	- 25	Europe	- 600
America	- 220	Oceania	- 259
Asia	- 49	USSR	- 328

The number of copies of daily newspapers published per 1 thousand inhabitants in 1978 was as follows:

In the world (on the whole) - 136

Africa	- 21	Europe	- 264
America	- 158	Oceania	- 264
Asia	- 72	USSR	- 394

The management of publishing activities in the country is the responsibility of the USSR State Committee for Publishing, Printing and the Book Trade (Goskomizdat). When working out the Union Plans of printed production output, Goskomizdat provides centralization necessary for the conditions of intensive growth of book publishing, and at the same time specialization of publishing work; improves coordination of the publishing houses, polygraphic works, book trade organizations activities; and is responsible for better meeting the Soviet people's demand for books.

In the USSR, the mass communications system develops within the context of political, social, cultural and geographical features of each region. Among the specific factors that have a substantial impact upon the formation of the mass communications system are the following: enormous territory and geographic diversity of the regions (including the existence of almost inaccessible areas); multinational structure of the population, and, accordingly, linguistic and cultural diversity. This explains some disproportions in the development of certain mass media as well as the differentiated use of communication channels in different geographical areas. Thus in some settlements (e.g. in the mountains, in the Far North) the delivery of newspapers is a difficult enterprise. Besides this, hitherto not all districts of the country have entered the zone of reliable TV reception. Nevertheless, regardless of difficulties of this kind the overwhelming majority of Soviet people use all, or nearly all, mass media.

According to the results of several surveys conducted in the late 70s, in cities there are 90 radio sets, 89 TV sets per hundred families. The figures for rural districts are 72 and 67 respectively (17), 96-99% of the urban population listen to the radio; 91-95% watch the TV; 94-96% read newspapers (15,17). Our survey proved that 89% of the urban and 75% of the rural population read books more or less regularly.

The analysis of statistical data reveals the inner dynamics of the mass media, which taken together constitute a rapidly transforming system. The introduction of new technology makes it possible to meet the many-sided demands of the people in information, reducing to a minimum spatial and time barriers on the way to its dissemination and usage.

The widening application of technical means of communication (cable and cassette TV, for example) will lead to the more adequate determining of functions of separate elements of the mass communications system and to the sophistication of the system on the whole. Apparently the mass communications system will in the near future undergo qualitative changes, which will call for a new interpretation and conceptual comprehension.

2. THE FUTURE OF THE BOOK: SOME CONCEPTS AND FORECASTS

In connection with the development of the mass communications system, the need arose to specify more fully the social functions of such means of social impact with a long history of traditions as the press, the book first of all. Social critics usually formulated their point of view in the field when they turned to the question of the role of the book in the future society.

The sociologists of different nations studying the mass media usually express two different views on the current situation in the field. The advocates of the first position try to prove that if not death, then the abrupt weakening of the role of the book in contemporary society is inevitable. They speak of the low popularity of the book and of the lack of a stable orientation towards systematic reading among the wide public. According to the numerous studies of reading carried out in the developed countries of Europe and America in the 60s and 70s, the share of the population that regularly reads books fluctuates from 25 to 50 percent. Approximately one half of the population of these countries does not read books at all. An international survey of the budget of leisure time of the urban and suburban populations, in 12 countries showed that in most of them the reading of books occupies a modest place as compared with the usage of mass media (3). It is on these grounds that many authors come to the one-sided conclusion that the position of the book in modern culture is flagging.

The point of view propounded by Canadian social philosopher M. McLuhan (56,57), is particularly well known. Unlike the majority of scholars, who examine the mass media as a sort of unity, McLuhan has made an attempt to characterize the specific features of the different channels. In keeping with his theory, the history of mankind, in terms of means and types of communication, can be divided into three periods. The first is the so-called "tribal" period when oral communication was predominant. In the second period the phonetic alphabet came into bieng, visual communication began to prevail over other forms of communication and book printing originated. But today the world, functioning on the basis of a phonetic alphabet, written language and book printing, individually oriented perception and logically consistent thinking has exhausted itself since the film, radio and TV have emerged. This marked the beginning of the third period, that of electronic communication or the TV age. According to McLuhan, with the spreading of TV the world is undergoing the most profound revolution. Space and time do not count and the world is reduced to the smallest dimensions possible. The all-powerful TV is ousting the written word, which for many centuries determined the "dynamics of Western civilization". It abolishes the feeling of "self-identity", "self-authenticity" of the individual, uniting all people into a single body in contrast to the printed word that fractions the audience. A revival of the oral tradition, the return to the values of the tribal system is in evidence. That is why the book and book printing are doomed, states McLuhan.

In his forecasts on the disappearance of the book he is not alone. For example, communications systems specialist S. Cornberg, a radical prophet in the field of library technology declared that "reading and writing will become obsolete skills". (67)

A similar idea is propounded by D. Riesman (61) and P. Copperman (45); W. Belson (42) also speaks of the flagging popularity of reading and the decrease in library usage.

Nevertheless, we are of the opinion that the position of those social scientists, who attempt to assert the "decline" of the book and forecast the further flagging of its role in the system of social communication is based merely on the analysis of quantitative indicators of the inter-relation of different communication channels. A typical example of such an approach is a statement, made by the well-known futurologist A. Toffler, to the effect that due to the incredible expansion of knowledge, each book that appears on the market contains a progressively smaller fraction of all that is known (67). Still the role and significance of a book are determined not so much by its size as by the value and untrivial quality of the knowledge it contains.

Yet there also exists a quite different approach to the interpretation of the present role of the book within the mass communications system. A member of experts (R. Barker, R. Escarpit, A. Schlesinger) are of the opinion that there are no sufficient grounds for forecasting the "decline" of book culture; what we are witnessing today is a new turning-point in its functional development. As the works of R. Brower, J. Curran, M. Janowitz and G. McEvoy (43,48,52,55) show, the appearance of new mass media does not undermine the position of traditional ones. The differentiation of functions frees the relations between the mass media of rivalry (53,54). The development of new mass media does not in any way crowd out the conventional forms of communication, what more it can favour their development and popularization: thus among the unexpected effects of TV, McLuhan cites the great increase in the popularity of a number of journals ("Time", "Newsweek"); their circulations have more than doubled since TV without any visible efforts at subscription (56). The position of those authors, who consider the comparison of books with other information sources only on the basis of quantitative criteria to be inadequate seems to be well grounded: reading does not stand in the same functional array with the use of mass media.

The mastering of book culture can sooner be considered a sine qua non for individual coping with mass communications systems. This idea is supported by the results of numerous inquiries into the connection between the reading of books and the use of other channels of communication. It was shown that those who regularly read books use the mass media more actively; they are also apt to be more serious and critical towards the content of the information they are offered.

Soviet scholars do not share the pessimistic view of the future of the book civilization. The book occupies one the cardinal positions in modern culture and, while it undergoes certain modification and promotes the development of mass media, it still retairs its dominant position. And though it passes some of its functions to the mass media, by no means does it retire into the background: the essential functions of the book remain, manifesting themselves in a more authentic form.

Forecasting the future existence of the book, Soviet scholars substantiate their approach by the idea of the further division of functions within the mass media sphere, the acquisition of new features and characteristics by the book. Calling into question all prophecies of the book's downfall, Soviet social scientists point out that these forecasts fail to take into account some important specific features of the mass media both in social and personal aspects. Printed sources, as compared to the newer audiovisual media, retain their chief advantages. Covering and processing the most valuable layers of human experience, retaining and reproducing them, the book reserves for itself the function of specialized fundamental generalization, an in-depth creative comprehension of reality. Actually there are practically no grounds for assuming that this situation will change due to the appearance of essentially new

technical means of storing and communicating socially meaningful information in the near future.

Apart from this, the press, and books in particular, boast of a number of important advantages over the other mass media: reading meets the cognitive demands of man most fully and it depends upon the individual himself how long his reading session will last. He can choose the theme he wants and he can return to what he has read in order to grasp the meaning of the text more fully.

The results yielded by this research project make it possible to examine the problem of the role of the book in mass communications systems on the basis of concrete material.

3. RESEARCH OF THE MASS COMMUNICATIONS SYSTEM IN THE USSR

The multi-aspect study of the mass communications system as a whole, and of its various elements, began to develop expansively in the middle sixties, when the building of the mass communications system was completed in the USSR. Special mention should be made of the following projects: inquiry of the attitude of the Leningrad population to different mass media carried out by the Leningrad State University (32), which helped to determine the attitude of recipients towards different mass media and the extent to which these channels are actually used; survey of social opinion, carried out by the Institute of Sociological Studies of the USSR Academy of Sciences in Taganrog (15) in the course of which the functioning of the mass media and usage of broadcast information was analysed; complex of studies of cultural activities launched by the Institute of Economics of the Ural Research Centre of the USSR Academy of Sciences (14) and a series of inquiries conducted by the Institute for Socio-Economic Problems in Leningrad (17).

Several studies dealing with leisure time yielded valuable results. In the first place it was the examination of leisure time proper (6); international study of the time budget (3); examination of social issues of everyday life and non-working time on the basis of materials concerned with the time budgets of workers in big cities, of the European part of the USSR (5).

The research on the audience of different mass media, the TV audience first of all, yielded significant results. The examinations of TV audiences of Moscow (9), Leningrad (30) and the Sverdlovsk region (12) deserve special mention.

Earlier we already mentioned studies of reading habits, which have been carried out by the State Lenin Library. Systematic

work in this field is also being carried out by the Leningrad State Institute of Culture, the Saltykov-Shchedrin State Public Library in Leningrad, the Moscow State Institute of Culture and the State Republican Juvenile Library in Moscow. Similar activities are also conducted by the State libraries of the Union republics. The State Lenin Library acts as the coordinating centre for research institutes and agencies, which study these problems.

Studies of the newspaper audience make up a special scientific area. The orientations and preferences of users of some central newspapers were explored by the Institute of Sociological Studies of the USSR Academy of Sciences. Similar surveys were conducted in the Estonian SSR, Bazhkir SSR and in other regions of the country.

The results of this research helped us to come to a better understanding of some important features of the mass media audience and on the correlation of different channels. Thus the foundation for a detailed and in-depth study of the interaction of the book with the mass media was built up.

4. RESEARCH METHODS AND MANAGEMENT

The research work was subdivided into several stages. At the first stage its object was the population of small towns[-] where a considerable part of the whole urban population resides. Respondents were selected by sampling from different regions with regard also to such characteristics as respondents' educational level and social and occupational status. The breakdown of adult population into occupations was done in accordance with the main classification groups in the social structure: workers, collective farmers, office workers (including professionals), pensioners, students (more than 7 years old). Taking into account the functional structure of towns to make the sample more representative, 24 towns situated in different administrative and economic regions were selected. The realtion of the sample to the general set proved to be of high representativity (average error not more than 3 percent).

The second stage was devoted to the country audience which gives a most clear picture of mass media impact on book reading. The whole village population older than 7 years was taken as the general set. The representative sample selection was carried out in two steps. First populated areas from all 18 administrative and economic regions of the country were selected. Then families of respondents were randomly chosen. The maximum error at this stage was 6 percent.

[-] According to the typology adopted in the USSR these are towns with less than 50 thousand population.

At the third stage the researchers surveyed working population of middle and large cities having in mind the leading role of this social class comprising 60,5 percent of the population. Interviewing of the workers was especially interesting for the present research since among their considerable number were recent migrants from the countryside.

At this stage the selection was made not by families but by industrial enterprises. It covered the major industries- heavy, light and industrial construction. Working teams at enterprises were selected taking into account the nature of occupational tasks and the skill of different groups of workers. They were interviewed in total in order to get information recent migrants as well as workers.

The basic source of empirical data were interviews. Some auxiliary techniques were used depending on the tasks of each stage. For example special control radio and TV transmissions and surveys after them were arranged to find out the impact of radio and TV on reading. Attitudes towards different mass media and their respective prestige were studied by means of questionnaires. The large amount of documents thus obtained allowed to make a thorough dynamic analysis of the use of various mass media by different population groups.

The present report is based on the data of all the three stages of the investigation. Besides the results from the most important investigations on mass media that took place in the USSR during the last decades have been reviewed.

5. THEORETICAL PREMISES

The investigation was based on a certain number of preliminary notions concerning the nature of communication processes, functions of different channels, specific features of mass communication as such and of each mass medium within them.

Urbanization was accepted as the basic social process whose theoretical model can serve an explanatory foundation of the study. Urbanization can be regarded as a socioeconomic and sociocultural process consisting of the concentration of people and means of production in cities, on one hand, and the spread and consolidation of the urban way of life, on the other. In other words as the result of the action of the objective laws of production not only the material and everyday conditions of life intensively assume new forms but the very nature of conscience and social relations undergo deep transformations.

At the turn of the 20th century urban population in Russia was 15 percent of the total. The end of the twenties and the beginning of the thirties saw large scale social transformations

leading to the rapid growth of cities. Nowadays 63 percent of the population dwells in cities and 76 percent work there (23). In urban areas more than 96 percent of industrial production is concentrated, the major part of it being in cities with more than 500 thousand people each. Annually, more than 3 million people are resettled in cities and this process is being intensified. The annual urban population increase was 1.4 million in 1960-1965, 1.7 in 1966-1970 and almost 2 million beginning 1970 (20). Upgrading of the general and special educational level and differentiation of cultural forms are most intensive in large cities.

It should be noticed that adoption of the urban way of life need not be necessarily linked with migration to cities. It is more essential when non-urban strata adopt urbanized cultural patterns.

Urbanization also reshapes all forms of social relationships. Their structure must respond to the greater complexity of social life, enormously increased dependence of individual life on the tempo and rhythm of social life, pluralism and fluidity of the conditions of existence.

Prevalence of immediate experience and mighty influence of the closest social environment (mainly in the form of traditions) was characteristic for the traditional way of life (for instance in agricultural communes) and written culture had no place among those who lived by oral tradition[-]. Only those groups that have already lost the traditional mechanisms of translating special experience or are losing them are exposed to new urban-type means of social regulation and to written texts among them. This is characteristic of the second and the subsequent generation of migrants while the first one is still oriented towards the old premigration patterns of behaviour and interpretation of reality.

H. Dias Bordenave summarized vast material on penetration of mass media to the countryside in many countries to show that the highly intensive use of various channels strongly correlates with social and cultural development of the village (50).

Urban life is dynamic. An urban resident often finds himself in situations conditioned by the changed ways of existence. Traditions and customary rules sanctified by the authority of elders can't always serve as sufficient orientation. Individual

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[-] Oral communication was historically the first and it prevailed in primitive communal societies, when human collectivities were small and social experience was rater undifferentiated. Cultural heritage was translated through imitation of the stereotyped patterns of behaviour as well as immediate oral communication. Writing appeared at a later stage. The written text differs from speech in such a way that it does not require direct contacts and therefore is more abstract and can express universal meanings.

experience is more and more supported and substituted by knowledge brought about through periodicals, radio, TV, movies and books. In cities with growing differentiation of activities and specializations of relationships (for example, professional), a universal system of mass communication is formed.

Mass communication texts fulfil an integrative function. They can work if people of whom "the mass audience" consists have more or less same social (political, national, occupational, cultural, etc.) experience and access to a certain level of education and consumption of cultural values. The historicaly first element of the mass communications system were periodicals (newspapers, magazines) and mass circulation fiction. Radio and TV come to the scene much later[-]. They came to being in response to the inability of periodicals to serve fully the information need of all social and cultural layers in a rapidly urbanizing and differentiating society. In such a society an ever growing part of the populace leaves customary ways of life and means of cultural translation but at the same time it can't completely pass from immediate interpersonal forms of cultural exchange to highly generalized and rationalized written forms. Such groups need texts reproducing concrete situations and mass production of such texts is realized by radio, TV and movies.

Sociocultural differentiation breaks the communication flow into a mass stream addressed to an undifferentiated audience and a specialized stream received by that part of the audience which is more prepared. Both streams belong to the modern type urbanized culture. Multileveled nature of written culture is thus strengthened and perpetuated. Its levels differ according to the degree of universality and generality from specialized messages, addressed potentially to everyone, to those having specific meanings and addressed to a narrowly defined audience of experts. One end of the continuum is represented by mass periodicals, the other by scientific journals. Many publications fall in between and some of them function as mass media while others do not.

In mass communication research all publications as a whole or even the book as such are regarded as an element of the mass communications system. However it conceals the multileveled nature of written culture. We insist on viewing only periodicals as an element of the mass communications system and even that being less characteristic for it than radio and TV. The periodical

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[-] We procedefrom the notion that only newspapers, radio and TV have all the characteristics of mass communication. Schools, cultural educational agencies, theatres are excluded because they operate through immediate communication. The case of movies is more complicated. The existing system of film distribution does not provide for the simultaneous showing of the same message to the audience at large, so the movies exemplify mass communication characteristics in their "mitigated"form. The same thing can be said of magazines whose impact is less instantaneous. Besides there are special journals with specific functions and narrow audiences.

press has a lesser audience, its information is not always received simultaneously with its transmission and its messages are more specialized. Popular fiction, books on housekeeping etc. are functionally close to mass communication. The functioning of specialized books, be they scientific, text-books or literary criticism, is quite different. Thus in our typologic series reading of some books can be compared to TV viewing and radio listening while reading of the others represents another kind of communicative activity. It determines the place of a book in the mass communications system and its functioning within it.

Functional differences between mass media and books have been mentioned by some authors (M. McLuhan among them). But they have not become an object of experiments. So this study is one of the first ventures of the kind.

6. THE PLACE OF BOOKS AND MASS MEDIA IN THE LEISURE TIME BUDGET

The relationship between books and mass media can be most clearly seen when studying leisure time budgets. The amount of leisure time is taken constant so that one kind of leisure activity can increase only due to reductions for other ones. It is natural to suggest that to some groups at least diffusion of television must have an impact on book reading. Of course the fact that reading, TV viewing and radio listening may all be secondary activities parallel to some other ones must be kept in mind. Still time expenditure for each of them greatly depends on the general structure of leisure time.

The international study of urban populations leisure time budgets carried out in 1964-1971 (68) showed that this is true for many countries.

TIME EXPENDITURES

(in minutes per day for one person)

Mass media	Belgium	Bulgaria	GDR	USSR	USA	France	FRG	Czechosl.
radio	8	20	4	10	4	5	7	11
TV (at home)	81	14	80	33	91	55	61	64
TV (out of home)	3	2	1	5	1	3	2	2
newspapers	16	14	13	15	24	14	12	13
magazines	5	1	2	5	6	4	12	3
books	14	21	2	29	5	7	5	20
films	4	10	1	15	3	3	3	4
all mass media	131	79	108	113	134	91	98	116

Our research and the secondary analyses of other Soviet sociological studies (5,6,14) confirm this picture. The next table shows the average time devoted daily to various kinds of communication activity (in hours):

	urban dwellers	villagers
Books & magazines	0.8	0.6
Newspapers	0.4	0.3
TV	1.4	2.0

As we see the time for TV is negatively correlated with reading.

During our survey the televiewers expressed their view that TV watching reduced time of radio listening and movie-going and that reading in general was also influenced but less. And though some of the respondents consider that TV had a positive impact on these other kinds of activities the groups expressing such opposite opinions relate as 5:1.

The marked differences in the structure of leisure time are closely linked to the degree of urbanization of the populated areas under study. In cities where the printed word has become a characteristic feature of the way of life TV is less time-consuming and its influence on reading is less noticeable. The village is quite different. There, in spite of urban influences, written culture and books as its specific element do not occupy such a prominent place. This is confirmed by the survey among different generations of migrants at industrial enterprises: 40.7 percent of city-born workers and only 23.5 percent of country-born workers read something the day before the interview. In the situation of a drastic break with the country way of life TV assumes the role of the translator of social norms and behaviour patterns. Therefore a certain part of the population whose practices with generalized and abstract printed information are less firm is eager to use "easier", "more natural", "more habitual" communicative channels such as radio, TV, films.

In the country, regular reading and visiting libraries is typical for representatives of the groups exposed to formal socialization (at schools and specialized educational institutions) and oriented towards urban culture, for example, school children and village intellectuals. Magazines and especially newspapers play a far greater role than books. Practically every family subscribes to a newspaper.

At the same time villagers are less exposed to radio and films, and that is why the relationship between reading and TV viewing is more obvious here. It can be ascertained that in the

country TV was far ahead of other channels in its diffusion and served as the decisive factor in altering the structure and intensity of the use of other mass media. If compared to small city residents, there are one and a half times as many people watching TV daily in villages, though the per capita distribution of TV sets is roughly the same. Villagers use 1.2 more time on TV than city dwellers in general. On weekdays urban workers spend about 2 hours watching TV in comparison to 2.6 hours for sovkhoz workers. The corresponding figures for urban and village intellectuals are 1.7 and 2.2 hours.

With the diffusion of daily TV viewing in the country a number of readers groups indicate reduction in their reading activities. Thus 30 percent of village non-viewers and only 24 percent of those who watch TV daily read books every day. The following table helps to see the correlation between time for reading and for TV watching among villagers.

	Groups of readers (according to the time used for TV, hours)						
	Do not watch	less than 0,5	less than 1	less than 2	less than 3	less than 4	less than 5
Average reading time (minutes)	66	55	46	49	49	68	61
Size of the group (percentage of the general number of the reader)	41	4	8	25	12	8	2

It can be seen that the majority of the readers (those who watch TV from 1 to 3 hours daily, or 27 percent of the respondents) spent for reading 17 minutes less than non-watchers (41 percent). It means that a major part of readers reduces their reading as the result to TV watching.

This reduction concerns first of all book reading as a more time consuming kind. The respondents were asked to name the kind and the time of reading on the eve of the interview. The results are shown below:

	Combinations of different kinds of publications						
	Newspaper&magazine&book	Newspaper&magazine	Newsp.& book	Magaz. &book	Newsp.	Mag.	Book
Average time (hours)	2.07	0.85	1.65	-	0.45	0.77	1.42
Size of the group (percentage of all those who read on the eve of the interview)	5	16	10	0.4	47	4	17

The number of newspaper readers and time spent on periodicals, according to our results, does not decrease under the TV impact.

Surveys in villages that first could not regularly receive TV programs but that later were able to show that the above dependencies were not just a mere correlation but a causal relation After buying a TV set villagers read fewer books, especially fiction. This is exemplified by the following table (100 percent readers of each type of printed material):

	After buying TV reading became	
	less often	more often
Newspaper	10.3	6.4
Fiction	16.8	4.3

However we think it important to emphasize that TV influence on reading is not unidirectional. There are indications of a stimulating impact as well. Thus, due to TV the time given to cultural activity as a whole increases at the cost of a completely inactive leisure and household labour.

It must be added that the TV diffusion promoted audience differentiation, particularly in villages. The reduction of reading activities took place mainly among those groups whose educational level, general cultural activity and reading practices were already comparatively weak. Habitual readers with high educational level show a marked stimulating effect of TV.

It is well known that in the USSR the educational level of the population grows rapidly. According to the 1897 census 73 percent of the Russian people more than 9 year old were illiterate. In the course of socialist construction the whole system of people's education has been radically reformed.With a minimum of years of compulsory education, mass illiteracy has been eliminated.

That is why the present situation when TV sometimes negatively influences reading practices can't be considered final. In the long run development of cultural needs will promote interest in reading and change relationships between various forms of leisure.

7. FUNCTIONAL FEATURES OF MASS MEDIA AND BOOKS

The comparative analysis of time expenditures for reading and mass media is not enough to see the meaning of the relevant processes. The investigation has revealed differences between separate media of communication and between these and books with regard to the ways of transmitting information, its content and its functional meaning.

The classification of mass media according to means of transmission is generally accepted. There are video (newspapers, magazines, books), audio (radio) and audio-video (TV) means. The means of transmission influence many significant aspects of the communicative process and among them the content of the transmitted messages. The latter must be congruent with the channel's technical properties and correlate with the specifity of people's perception of the information being transmitted through it. In its turn the form of transmission and contextual features of the meanings determine functions of the corresponding channels.

Mass media can be classified according to the time necessary for obtaining information. For example, the newspaper requires that consumers have free time but this time is not fixed.

Using radio and to a certain extent TV allows parallel activities such as housework; one can for example, listen to music and do the housework. On the other hand, we must distinguish books that can be read with any degree of regularity and in any arbitrarily chosen period of the day and mass media functioning according to rigid schedules. The very fact of regular use of the channel (sometimes on definite time marked as the beginning or the end of the day or the week, thus creating a definite framework for everyday activity) contains important information in respect to the rhythm of the country's social life (newspapers are read in the morning or after work hours; radio is listened to in the morning; TV news program "Time" - is watched at 9 p.m. etc.). In other words, the contact with mass communications channels is constant and regular. Thus in 1979 in Leningrad, 80 percent of respondents read newspapers daily (17); in small towns 89 percent of the 97 percent of the population who are subscribers read newspapers several times a week; 89 percent of the 97 percent

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- The daily round-up of the most important political economic and cultural events in the USSR and throughout the world.

who are radio owners listen to it several times a week and 66 percent of the 67 percent who own television sets used their sets several times a week. At the same time books are read essentially less regularly. Though 89 percent read books, only 47 percent do it several times a week. The difference is still more obvious if we compare maximum regularities. In small towns daily book reading is found among 21 percent of the respondents while TV is watched daily by 47 percent. In groups of workers and collective farmers this contrast is even greater-respectively 14 and 53 percent and 7 and 37 percent. The reversed relationship is found only with students of whom 36 percent are daily book readers and 28 percent are daily television viewers. In the village the gap is the widest. Daily viewers here comprise 75 percent of respondents and daily readers are 25 percent .

The above data attest that using mass media is a more constant and regular activity with an ordered social rhythm while reading is a more selective individual process.

Equally significant are the differences between the different mass media and between those and books which arise from the different cultural background of various audiences. TV perception, for example, appears to be a more traditional and in this sense more "natural" activity resembling either interpersonal communication (announcer's speech) or observation of situations of real life (TV performances, films). Such activities are inherent to every man. The perception of radio programs is of the same kind. In both cases the listener or the viewer "takes part" in the transmitted situation in which all the roles are rather clearly defined and immediately represented. The viewer (listener) interprets their purposes, motives etc. in a customary way. A printed text is organized on more complicated lines. It is generalized, abstract, rational. To understand it one needs special training (mostly through formal education) and it is quite different from the "natural" submersion into TV and radio worlds. In consequence TV and radio reach almost all the population while the utlization of newspapers, magazines and especially books is confined chiefly to school graduates (with no less than 7 years education). School learning brings forth the ability to analyse, to deal with generalized patterns which makes of reading not only a technical procedure but a process of comprehending the text. Though people with higher educational level use books alongside other mass media, printed materials are their main information channel. The survey among city residents produced the following data as to what mass media they used the day before the interview:

(100 percent is the total number of respondents in each educational group)

	Non-complete school educat. %	Complete school ed. %	Higher education %
Newspapers	53	85	91
Magazines	28	43	55
Books	28	53	55
TV	62	62	56
Radio	65	62	54

Data on actual behaviour coincide with those on the audience's preferences. The most educated groups are least oriented towards TV. Twenty four percent of students and thirty three percent of intellectuals belonging to various groups named it as their major source while the corresponding figures were thirty nine percent for workers and forty two percent for housewives.

The differences between mass media taken as a whole and between each of them and books are not less in respect to contextual nature of the transmitted information and corresponding expectations of different audiences. Naturally, socio-political and socio-economic items are widely represented in TV programs (for example, the news round up "Time"is among the most popular) as well as in radio transmissions and newsprint. Nevertheless television is singular for its vividness and emotional charge. It is noteworthy that in villages forty percent of TV-viewers prefer films, thirty three percent prefer variety shows, thirty one percent sports events, twenty six percent travelogues.

The same relative values are characteristic for small towns as well. Among such regularly transmitted programs there are (besides the already mentioned "Time") the discussion program for youth "The Dispute-Club" (group discussions together with scholars and cultural figures on various actual problems); "Obvious-Incredible" (on problems of modern science); "Cinematravel Club" (about different countries and peoples and various culture monuments); "Cinemapanorama" (fragments from new films, talks with actors and producers); "Theatrical Meetings" and "Theatrical Poster" (a round up of new stage productions and roles); "Sunbow", "Arts of the Peoples of the World", "Folk Music of the USSR Peoples" (programs on folk arts); "MusicalKiosk" (new records, talks with composers and performers). The special programs for a narrow audience (educational or the like) are viewed by no more than 5-10 percent of the public.

In contrast to TV's vividness and emotionality, newsprint is more analytic, deep and comprehensive in its dealing with the most important soci issues. In newspapers readers look primarily for informati on political events. For example, 33 and 32 percent of villagers pay main attention to articles on respectively foreign and domestic politics while 6 percent only look for sporting events and this last group reads exclusively sports topics.

The above peculiarities of mass media boil down to the conclusion that each separate channel and all of them taken together are oriented towards transmitting meanings of different content unlike books which are a more specific means of communica'ion (what is meant here is not the existence of different concrete books and concrete programs, articles etc. but the functional specificity of the channels). As we have already said mass media convey actual information of general interest while information contained in books stands farther, sometimes very far, from the present and is not necessarily everyone's concern. Reading of fiction supposes that in principle it is possible to attach different meanings to this or that classical or, on the contrary, highly modern and debatable subject. And finally, books store special knowledge necessary for scientific work, study, self education and personal cultural development. Therefore books tend to differentiate the audience, to select those out of it who are interested in their special subjects and, in the case of classical or "complicated" literature, inner experience and independent value judgement. The following fact is illustrative of these differences. Some of the television programs, such as variety performances, travels, and "Time" news program are wathched by 75 percent of the viewers or more, while individual books (or even whole topical serials or kinds of literature) are seldom read by half of the audience (with the exception of those who are in school programs).

If one accepts the above functional distinctions between books and mass media the sphere of their interaction becomes clear.

Our results show that, practically speaking, TV and radio do not influence special literature reading. They can influence only reading of books whose meaning is close to that transmitted by mass media, for example, fiction and especially those large-scale novels which treat in epic terms the key historical events of our past. They cover extremely vast periods and speak about decisive moments and turning points in the life of the state and the nation. Biographic books about outstanding historic figures and travel descriptions are also close to the corresponding mass media programs with regard to their functioning and content. Reading of such books may be reduced due to the utilization of mass media, since information consumers find in them ready available substitutes for fiction

literary products (cinema and TV films, radio plays). However, some other books are read more intensively if they are "switched" to a mass communications system. Then the book acquires the properties of a mass message, for it transmits the most fundamental and integrative universal values and norms of the social system to a broad undifferentiated audience in a relatively short time. Three forms of such "switching" can be distinguished though in practice they can be combined. The first one is mass publication of the book (more than 500 thousand copies) or its printing in a periodical (a newspaper, a mass magazine, "Newspaper-Novel"). As a result the book obtains wide circulation and often simultaneous popularity (books of this sort were found to make a group of literary works most widely read in small towns as well as in villages). The second form is publicizing of a book in newspapers, by radio or TV. In almost all of the above mentioned TV programs appropriate literature is recommended and undoubtedly stimulates reading activities. Twenty one percent of the village respondents named audio-visual means as the source of information on books they were reading at the moment. Almost one fifth of the requests for a specific book in a village library were due to radio or TV influence. In Estonia a special experiment was carried out with a survey made after the TV transmission about the author of the local literary classic, O. Luts. The survey showed a 50 percent increase in the demand for his books (4).

Making a book into a screen-play or radio-play can be considered the third and, as our findings show, the most effective form of "switching" books to the mass communications system. The following considerations are relevant here. As a rule cultural patterns translated by mass media have been worked out and taken shape within the content of written culture (first of all in books). Mass media borrow them ready-made and transform them but due to the high authority of the written culture these transformations do not lose their high standing. Thus literature plays the role of a structuring factor for mass communications. All films and most of radio and TV programs are based on literary texts (scenarios). But this feature is most prominent in dramatizations for films and radio plays. On the one hand are books most authoritative and significant with mass readers that are dramatized and these dramatizations become most popular. On the other hand, dramatization increases the circulation of the book. It becomes better known than books not included in the mass communications system. The popularity of lengthy books of contemporary Soviet writers (A. Ivanov, P. Proskurin) on key stages and events of our recent history is thus quite comprehensible. Long serial films and TV dramatizations based on their works were being shown just at the period of our survey. One of these books (A. Ivanov's "The Shadows Disappear at Noon") proved to be most well known and widely read among villagers; 69 percent of them had heard about it and 41 percent had read it. After the dramatization of "The Forsyte Saga" by J. Galsworthy was shown on television, readers' interest in this series grew markedly.

The fate of a book with the readers may be differently influenced by its dramatization depending on the nature of the original and the intentions of the dramatized version. It is also different with various socio-cultural groups. That is why it is not easy to draw any general conclusions in this field. It was discovered that 47 percent of respondents in small towns would like to read the original after seeing its dramatized version, another 47 percent did not reveal such an inclination, the remaining 6 percent said that some films make them wish to read the book while others do not. Nevertheless a deeper analysis of our findings shows that the dramatization serves a stimulating factor for the active part of the audience who are stimulated to acquaint themselves with or to reread the original. On the contrary, people who read irregularly and little are satisfied with seeing the film or TV version.

So it may be concluded that for sociological purposes it is more expedient to regard the relationships between reading and mass media not in terms of strengthening or weakening of their ties but in terms of functional differentiation of the written culture. Correspondingly it presupposes differentiation of the audience into strata according to their preferential orientation to the value meaning of the written word or of other types of communication.

8. THE PRESTIGE OF BOOKS

The prestige of books must be considered their important aspect determining their role in the mass communications system. Their high value has always been an outstanding feature of Russian culture. The book was synonymous with the high cultural level of all the strata of Russian society. Many prerevolutionary investigations attest to this fact. Even the illiterate who were the majority of the population treated books with respect and veneration.

Our surveys demonstrate that nowadays books occupy a very important place among the Societ people's intellectual values, TV and other mass media cannot compete with books in this respect but on the contrary they help to emphasize their high value status. Reading is the most prestigeous leisure activity with all population groups. For example, let us compare favorite leisure activities of villagers and small town residents (100 percent are the respondents who answered the question about their hobbies):

	Reading	TV-viewing	Movie-going	Radio - listening
Small town residents	70	26	42	10
Villagers	62	31	15	4

Dissimilarities of these activities as to their prestige were made especially clear in answers to the projective question: "How would you utilize extra leisure time if such were given to you?" In small towns, 40 percent of the respondents mentioned reading and only 6 percent TV-viewing. Among workers, 36 percent named reading, 11 percent movies and 3 percent TV. Such projective questions may be considered the most reliable instrument for discovering the prestige value of separate leisure activities. They definitely confirm the high place of reading in the system of value orientation.

Having compared the results of several studies we ascertained that for the last 5 years the prestige of reading and orientation towards reading has been continuously growing stronger while the attitude towards TV-viewing remained constant. Only theatre-going and visits to concerts, museums and exhibitions became as highly significant and prestigeous as reading:

	1973 (percent)	1978
Those who would like to have more time for reading	51	59
The same for TV-viewing	44	44
The same for theatre-going, concerts, museums, exhibitions	46	59

But it should be noted that theatre, museums, etc. have different prestige with various social groups while reading is uniformely the most preferential activity. TV dissemination has reduced the real time expenditures for reading but its prestige has become even higher.

We have also undertaken an attempt to learn people's views on the role of reading in the life of their children. Ninety one percent of the villagers who gave a definite answer were sure that once grown, their children would read more than their parents. The opposite opinion was expressed by 3.5 percent. The majority

believed that books could not only be outdated by new and technically more ingenious mass media but that they would play an even higher role in the next generation's life. People are apt to identify themselves with their children and to correlate with them the main events of their lives. And though such judgements are amateurish and cannot be a basis for forecasts they once again prove that books belong to the fundamental values which are passed onto succeeding generations providing for the continuance of the cultural tradition.

The high prestige of books in the USSR accounts for the unanimity of our respondents. The preponderance of those who believe in reading's increasing role is the ground for further spread of reading practices among all the cultural strata.

The high symbolic status of reading was reflected also in the very situation of the interviews, particularly in the wording of the answers. Speaking of their attitudes towards books, readers used a highflown style and positive emotional epithets. Metaphoric language expressing the high value significance of reading sharply contrasted with everyday parlance: "Reading is our daily bread", "Without books life is hardly worth living" etc.

In interpreting the above data we procede from the notion that the significance of books and reading activities is one of the major characteristics of a way of life.

The leading trend of social development in the USSR is the elimination of social heterogeneity, of the opposition between physical and mental work, between country and city, and the mutual influence and enrichment of national cultures. However, the cultural identity of different groups, each with its own cultural status and cultural standards and norms, is not leveled down. Still the overwhelming majority of these groups do not doubt the high value of reading. It is reasonable to suggest that here we meet a value of a higher order which is stronger than most individual and group values. Thus the high significance of books and reading is a factor of socio-cultural integration.

The prestige of reading influences the reader's behaviour in a complicated and sometimes contradictory way. On one hand, a person's reading needs, the content and intensity of his reading do not coincide with the prestige evaluations and sometimes conflict with them (for instance, TV is not prestigeous but consumes more time than reading). This relative autonomy of prestige evaluations indicated to the investigator that he is dealing with values that have no one-to-one correlation with actual behaviour.

On the other hand it is usual for a reader to base his choice and judgement on the general norm of good taste, to be oriented to "authentic", "progressive", "real" views, as he understands them, and on advice from librarians, teachers, mass media and so on. An individual is oriented towards the level of cultural consumption which corresponds to the prevailing social norms. The orientation to good taste thus becomes a means of supplying the reader with high standard literary products.

In Soviet society the all-round harmonic development of the personality is a prerequisite of social progress. So the high prestige of books may be seen as a prerequisite of social progress. So the high prestige of books may be seen as a prerequisite for educating people to the values of culture, for its development and dissemination.

Further social and economic transformations will raise the prestige of books still higher as well as their actual role in the life of the people. It is a sine qua non condition for cultural progress and modern civilization and their true indicator.

CONCLUSION

It seems worthwhile to discuss what is typical and what is unique in the trends revealed above.

It is written in the "Charter of the book": "...the role of books can be reinforced by the adoption of policies designed to encourage the widest possible use of the printed word" (41). The mass dissemination of reading practices characteristic for the USSR and the high significance of books is a result of the consistent cultural policy of the Soviet state. From the very beginning of Soviet power book development was considered a part of culture building, book circulation was emphasized as a tool for bringing about social changes and all the necessary conditions for making books a part of life for millions of people. Of primary importance here were the achievements of the cultural revolution that took place during the first decade after the Great October socialist revolution. The introduction of ten years of universal compulsory education was the continuation of the policy of bringing written culture to all strata of the population. And finally it was the expansion of the urban way of life which includes, consistent with the national tradition, book reading and buying as its indispensable component (mass media did not belong to the national heritage and entered the urban culture as a new and international element).

The main target of the study was to clarify the functional specifics of mass media as compared to books. Clear differentiation of the function of different channels allows one to define and to settle in a planned manner, the problems of interaction of different communication media in their quality as social and cultural mechanisms. More than that, it is exactly the planned nature of socialist culture development oriented towards the needs of society as well as of individual groups that makes it possible to reach an optimum combination of differentiating and integrating factors in the sphere of social communication and to avoid useless duplication and confusion of its various forms and functions.

The investigation has provided us with the findings with regard to the present situation and trends. It has been established that noticeable alterations in the leisure time structure have taken place after radio and especially TV became broadly disseminated. On the surface it was reflected in the fact that certain groups came to spend less time on reading after they got accustomed to the new channels of communication. However this phenomenon gives no ground for pessimistic forecasts since it is but one aspect of the interrelationship between TV and books, the other aspect being that radio and TV are not only "substitutes" for books but propagandizers as well. It must also be remembered that at the present stage the dissemination of TV goes hand in hand with the growth of the educational level. Urbanization processes in the context of which we have discussed the relationship between books and mass media lead to eliminating essential differences between urban and rural ways of life, increasing the educational level which helps to preclude indiscriminate TV watching. So in the USSR different mass media and books do not compete between themselves.

Having analysed in depth specific functions of various channels we discovered that the book is an effective means of social communication which can be substituted for neither by newsprint, nor by radio or TV. The priority of books in matters of education and upbringing is self evident. In emotional, recreational and entertainment fields audio-visual channels sometimes do compete with books, yet nevertheless the book's position remains extremely firm. Suffice it to say that many socialist society's fundamental values and norms are inculcated through literary fiction; books are one of the chief elements in the school methods of education. No wonder then that the social significance of books is higher than that of mass media.

During the last decades book consumption in the USSR has considerably increased. The number of people utilizing written cultural products and, which is even more important, oriented towards the written culture, grew several times over. Together

with the rise of general well-being and better housing conditions it has led to a great spread of reading practices, book buying and collecting. Investigations carried out by the USSR State Committee on Publishing, Printing and the Book Trade showed that in 1966 37.3 percent of home library holders had more than 100 books each and in 1978 the corresponding figure was already 55.8 (33). Now we live in the situation of mass consumer demand for books. Works of the classics, even when published in millions of copies, do not meet this demand.

The All-Union voluntary association of book lovers created in 1974 has 14 million members in 1982.

Further growth of the demand can be expected alongside with a certain reduction of the popularity of TV due to the increase in the educational level. The demand of readers will periodically overrun the supply possibilities. But it will touch not the whole of book production, or even certain kinds of books, but only specific titles attracting the interest of millions and thus functioning like mass media, as an "intermediate link" between books and various communication media. We suggest that this burning social problem will compel the search for new solutions consisting of the creation of different technical, economic and social premises for the consumption of these extra-popular books which are characterized for mass communications functioning.

Though the data at our disposal cannot help forecast the timetable and concrete forms of the change, the situation as described it allows one to be optimistic about the future. Books tend to preserve their place as the traditional transmitter of the most important achievements of human culture and thus the demand of millions of readers will be met.

The achievements of the USSR in cultural fields are widely known and may be hoped that a situation similar to one analized above will emerge, for example, in some of the developing countries. We mean such features characteristic for various stages of social and cultural progress as the high social significance of literature, sharp increase in consumer demand for books, functioning of some books on the same lines as mass media, etc. In some cases the situation can be different due to local specifics and historical traditions where the book culture is less developed than radio and TV. In those cases, mass communications systems may develop as the preferential channel of æsthetics and educational information and consequently a part of them will become similar to books in their form and functioning.

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